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From a Dangla informant:

Three kinds of sugar cane:

The *saxádaw*, which has a yellow skin;

The *lokóg*, with a dark-purple skin;

The *banótān*, with a reddish-brown skin.

Three kinds of bananas:

The *dokkasí*, which is a very large banana with a thick yellow skin;

The *parandn*, which is very small and has a thin yellow skin, its taste is more or less sour, and it grows in very large bunches;

The *lippokán* (Iloko: *alimúkeń*), a small egg-shaped banana with a thin greenish skin.

The terminal bud or cabbage (*baranibād*) of the fish-tail palm (*aníboń*, Caryota cumingii. Lodd.).

The *tobál* or soft meat of a sprouting coconut, lest the woman experience difficulty in giving birth to her child.

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From a Nagbabalayan informant:

Legs of a pig, for the same reason as in the case of the *tobál*.

It should be noted in this connection that taboos are not always universally observed all over the district of Apayaw. For instance, a certain article of food may be forbidden over a comparatively large area, while everywhere else such a taboo is unknown and consequently unobserved.

B. CHILDBIRTH AND POST-NATAL CARE

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A pregnant (*nabu-sit*; *bu-sit*, in Isneg, means "fetus"; *buksit*, in Iloko, means "belly, abdomen"; "fetus", in Iloko, is *sikúg*) woman goes about her ordinary duties up to the last moment. I have known a Kankanay woman who gave birth to her child while she was working in an irrigated rice field, and, although I know of no similar cases among the Isneg, it has been told me more than once that an Isneg mother could give birth to her child anywhere, even though walking and at work. On other occasions, while inquiring about their proper names, I was told that a woman who gave birth to a child in the bush, might call her child "Bush" (*sirát*); if she brought forth her offspring near some tree, the name of that particular tree might be given to the newborn babe. All this goes to prove that the intensive care taken by and for a future mother in more civilized areas is entirely absent and considered as quite superfluous among our sturdy mountaineers.

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Insiso (M), at Lukab: after Mr. Enciso, a municipal treasurer.
Kôner (M), at Nagbabalayan, at Ripang and at Tawit: after Mr. Norman G. Connor, the second lieutenant-governor of Apayaw.
Liñan (M), at Bolo: a soldier.
Makánas (M), at Bolo: a nurse.
Mina (M), a Bolo: formerly connected with the Bureau of Public Works.
Siddáyáw (M), at Nagbabalayan: soldier.
Tagubá (M), at Bolo and at Tawit: a nurse.

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Titles:

Bokonadôr (M), at Nagsimbanan: vaccinator (Spanish: *vacunador*).
Fôrman (M), at Bubulayan: the title by which the chief inspector of roads is known all over the district
Kábo (M), at Nagbabalayan: corporal (Spanish: *cabo*)
Meistará (F), at Abbil, at Maduang and at Kabetayan (Kabugaw): lady teacher (Spanish: *maestra*).

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Just to show how little the Isneg sometimes care for the kind of name that is given to their offspring, I merely mention here the name *Sentávo* (Spanish *centavo*, a copper coin worth one half cent), which is most certainly not a very precious one. You can meet a Mr. *Sentávo* at Madatag and one at Ampaw.

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In general it must be said that a definite set of names is the exclusive property of boys, and that another set is particular to girls. Nevertheless it may happen that a certain name is given to boys in some localities, while in others the same one is given to girls.

So we have *Asáp*, which is the name of three girls I know, one at Nagilian (Namaltugan), one at Madatag, and one at Alumani, while a Baliwanan boy is called by the same name.

Bañón: two girls: one at Magapta and one at Waga; a boy at Talifugu.

Éba: a girl at Lukab; a boy at Karagáwan.

Luwć-: a girl at Nagbabalayan; a boy at Lako.

Ósań: a girl at Nagilian (Namaltugan); a boy at Lukab.

Píli: a girl at Nagbabalayan; boy at Maduang.

At Nagbabalayan there is a man called *Báñan*, which is the name of the most popular heroine of Kankanay tales.

But such coincidences are of comparatively rare occurrence.

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And now I come to the question of changing the name given at birth. All over northern Luzon, among Christians as well as among pagans,

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462 The same may be said with reference to simple and ordinary carpentry, in which most all Isneg are more or less expert. Indeed
335 when there is question of building a new house, the whole agglomer-
868 ation is summoned to take part. Nevertheless one or more men, more skilled than the rest, usually take the lead, and others do what they are told; in the meanwhile the youngsters pick up whatever they can
462 according to each one's capacity of understanding and skill of hand.
285 Baskets are woven by the women, while the weaving of bownets
868 falls to the share of the men. In both cases young people learn the work merely by imitating what is done by their elders.

462 Perhaps the only kind of work that is performed among the Isneg
326 by special craftsmen, and not by everybody indifferently, is that of the blacksmith, and here again boys learn by imitation. While still
868 small, they merely go and look, but once they have attained their
184 tenth year or so, they help their elders and learn the profession through practice. This is the more easy, as such occupations are not monopolized by a few individuals in each agglomeration, but are professed by the whole settlement or at least by several families, in a very restricted number of places.

868 One subject in which a boy generally receives formal instruction, at least if he wants to learn it, is that of managing a boat, of handling an oar, a paddle and a pole: the father is the recognized teacher of his offspring in this respect; but the whole is of course limited almost exclusively to places that are situated along the Apayaw in its lower course. In a few other places, parents teach their children how to manage a raft, but such teaching is generally much less formal, at least when there is only question of crossing a stream or of travelling over parts of a river that are easy to pass, as most youngsters, girls not excluded, will have seen their elders at work, and will try to imitate them without the necessity of such teaching. An occasional plunge rarely does them any harm, as the majority swim like rats, and those who would not float in case of taking an involuntary bath usually do not take the risk of trying to manage any water craft without the help of others.

D. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

771 And now we come to the fields of religion and morality, which, in the case of the Isneg, seem to have each their own rather well-defined sphere, without encroaching the one upon the other, at least in so far as morality is concerned with man's duties to his fellow men. Nevertheless generalities are of little or no value, so I shall try to give as

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855 comes for the boys to follow their father and for the girls to be left to her care. The best viands are always reserved for the little ones and dainties are stored away (*mazalúmid*) for their future use. If a child gets sick, the parents will do their utmost to relieve the little sufferer; and if it is its fate, as the Isneg put it, to die, its elders' lamentations will follow it to the grave.

731 In times of famine the children are of course the biggest sufferers, not that the Isneg does not share with them whatever food he can lay
858 hands on, but because growing boys and girls lack the sustenance they badly need at their age, which rarely fails to be followed by
597 results that affect them unfavorably for the rest of their life. I have heard once of a hard-pressed Isneg who sold a child for money: this is certainly a rare exception, and, as all circumstances are not known to me (I am not even sure that it was his own child), I am not free to pronounce judgment on the transaction. What I know is that the family by whom the child was adopted would certainly not cause it to regret its former life, as far as material advantages are concerned; nevertheless this is not a sufficient excuse for such an act.

855 It may be asked if families differ much in their solicitude for the
867 proper moral upbringing of children, if some families are more religious-minded than others, if some families are more concerned than
184 others in watching over their children and in safeguarding them in sex morality. What can I answer to such questions? I should like
124 to make the following invitation to my inquirers: let them choose a certain district of the United States, say in Kansas or in Indiana or in whatever state they prefer, a district where there are no densely populated sections and where some ten thousand people are scattered over a comparatively large area, and then let them tell me the result of their investigations among inhabitants of that district with reference to the above questions. I am sure that their task would not be easier or more difficult than mine, in order to give a satisfactory survey of the situation. Nevertheless I shall try to give a few concrete instances that have come to my personal notice and which I can recall just now, leaving aside the Kankanay, among whom I resided from 1909 to 1915, and confining myself exclusively to the Isneg, with whom I have been living since 1925.

855 Take the settlement of Baliwanan. A Baliwanan girl was living
184 with the family of my catechist at Kabugaw, where she took care of the children, washed the clothes, and did other little chores. On a
836 certain day somebody told her father that a boy had entered the house

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at night and that the owners had allowed him to do so. He immediately set out for Kabugaw, firmly intent in claiming his daughter back, and he only desisted from his purpose after he had been convinced that the rumor was entirely unfounded. On the other hand another Baliwanan girl was allowed to follow a Kagayan into another village and to live maritally with him for a certain period of time, after which she came back home.

Go to another near-by settlement: some parents object to their daughters going to school for reasons given in the introduction of this paper, while others allow them not only to go to school but even to live at the house of the teacher.

Let us pass over to Talifugu. A girl becomes pregnant, and the case is dropped. The same man, a Kagayan, deflowers another girl with the same result, and he is left no peace until he marries her.

At Dagara: a girl has the reputation, which I understand to be deserved, of being of very loose morals; she is left all liberty by her parents; while the generality of the Dagara girls behave as decently as anywhere else.

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I twice assisted at a small Isneg sacrifice, once at Ampaw and once at Abbil. In the former place, everything went on as if it were the most serious and most important act that could be performed by an Isneg: all details were attended to with the utmost earnestness and accuracy; while at Abbil, the whole ceremony seemed rather to be considered as an irksome duty: it looked like a joke when compared with the Ampaw case. It must be conceded that the Abbil people were more or less ill at ease on account of my presence; but I was equally present at Ampaw, and in the latter place I was even sitting much nearer the shaman than at Abbil, nevertheless the shaman and her helpers never flinched.

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I have little chance to read books on anthropology, but I understand it has been stated in some of them that primitives think in common, that among primitives every community has something like one mind for all individuals; how exactly the books express it I do not know, but I am sure that my readers who know about it, understand what I mean. Now, I know nothing at all from personal experience about primitives living in other parts of the world, but with reference to our Mountain people, whether Negritos or Malays, Kankanay or Isneg, I dare say that anybody who would pass a few weeks among them, would not have to take the trouble any more to form an opinion on the subject or to try to frame some theory, the

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156 truth would have been so patent that it would have thrust itself
184 upon him.

I must confess that I also had my prejudices, when I first came
181 to the Mountain Province of Luzon: I thought that primitives were
114 different, that they were not at all like other people I had met up till then, that you could not very well treat with them as with other normal human beings, that they were very unsophisticated. Well, I had scarcely been a week among the Kankanay, when my superior left me alone and in charge of the mission for a fortnight. He told me to buy all possible timber that the natives might bring for sale, with the help of the cook as interpreter, and, in order to induce them to bring plenty of it, to give them, besides the ordinary payment, a few leaves of tobacco gratis. Very soon two young men came along (probably they also thought that I was something different) and stated that they had timber for sale, that they had left it at the outskirts of the town and that they would bring it in if I wanted them to do so. I told them, of course I did. Then the rascals asked me for tobacco, and I gladly gave them a few leaves each. So they went . . . , and never came back . . . And I knew.

156 Yes, they are human beings just like you and me, and they are as
184 different from one another as you and I. The only thing that might
181 be conceded is that the members of each tribe wear a kind of uniform,
151 that is that they use the same kind or almost the same kind of clothes,
114 that you can usually see at first glance that a certain individual is an Isneg, although he be mixed with a thousand others who are not Isneg. But here the identity stops. I had much more difficulty at first in distinguishing one individual from another. In the beginning of my stay among the Kankanay, the latter looked almost all alike to me; I really thought that they were reduced to a few types and that all the others conformed to these few; and also in this I have been disillusioned. Besides, the same also obtains the other way. Primitives who first come in contact with a limited number of white men, generally experience the same difficulty when trying to distinguish them from one another. Here in Kabugaw I have been asked more than once if my assistant and I were brothers, even when we were sitting side by side, and although we do not resemble each other in the least, not even in the color of the hair, which in our case is very noticeable. Both of us have beards, and while my hair, well, turns grey, that of my assistant rivals the sun's rays in its bright-golden color. There is nothing new under the sun.

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4. *Actual Moral Behavior*

And now I come to the consideration of Isneg practice as compared with theory. I always promise to be brief, but I rarely live up to my promises; so I shall see what I can do about it now.

The Isneg are far less fanatical in matters religious than, for instance, the Kankanay. Their religious practices are also comparatively few and far between, and the women usually play the most important rôle. A person who disobeys (*saúran*) any injunction of the shaman is not considered as being a traitor; he is mostly left to his own devices, although his disobedience is not exactly lauded as an act of virtue. Nevertheless not only the old women, but also the old men are usually very punctual in complying with all directions of the shaman and in observing whatever their religious convictions impose upon them. I purposely say "old" men and women, as among the younger generation, this respect for the heathen practices of their tribe seems to be on the wane. The influence of the schools which are supposed to be neutral, is a decided factor in this matter. The teachers, being Christians, have no sympathy with what they call the superstitions and ridiculous practices of the Isneg. Although perhaps they keep these sentiments to themselves during school hours, the sparseness of the population in a district where schoolboys and schoolgirls very often live far from the schoolhouse, forces many of the latter to remain in the immediate neighborhood of the teacher's house for five consecutive days every week, which necessarily allows the influence of the Christian schoolmaster to be very far-reaching.

Besides, Christians are entering Apayaw in large numbers every year, some to stay, others as transient guests. Since the country is practically pacified, nothing keeps them back any more, and so they also exert an undermining influence on all matters that relate to Isneg religion as such. This immigration coupled with Isneg temporary emigration, tends to teach the people the futility and even the error of their beliefs. Indeed an Isneg who enters the Iloko or Kagayan country, and stays there for a certain time, cannot fail to bring back a spirit of indifference with reference to his native religion.

It may be the place here to say a few words anent the relations of the Isneg with the Catholic missionary. In general it must be said that all over the Mountain Province the priest has usually met with the sympathy of the natives. During the Philippine Revolution against Spain, when Spanish friars were taken into custody by the

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771 insurgents, the Hapaw people (Ifugaw) hid their priest in the forest
177 for a considerable time; and I am sure that our Negritos and Isneg
797 would do the same to us if necessary. They are supposed to be inferior to the Christians in many respects, they themselves believe so, and the Christians do not fail to impress it upon their mind through word and deed: an Iloko or Kagayan has not respect for an Isneg, and again Iloko, Kagayan and Isneg oppress the Negrito whenever they can.

Now comes along a man who sympathizes with these pariahs, a man who understands them, a man who, although teaching a different religion, never ridicules them, a man who always puts them on the same level with other human beings, a man who is willing to live with them, to share their food and their mat, a man who learns their language and their customs, a man who takes their side even against the Christians when the latter are wrong: what can they feel but respect and even love for such an extraordinary being? Then add to this, in the case of the Isneg, their frequent intercourse with Christians and the patent superiority of the latter's civilization, which excites the ambition of the former, and it will not be wondered at that the priest and his religion are respected, that Isneg mothers bring their children for baptism just as the Christians do, that the Isneg youth wants to be instructed in Christian doctrine, and that Christianity is considered as the ultimate goal of a great number of Isneg young men and women.

183 Here among the Isneg I have never yet met with that strong
788 opposition to baptism, which formerly was so very common among
171 pagan Kankanay fathers and mothers in several of their villages,
177 and if the inborn indolence of the Isneg could be done away with, all
797 youngsters would be Christians within a very short time. In the
771 case of old men and women, although they rarely object to Christian-
178 ity as such, still they usually hold rather tenaciously to their tradi-
184 tional practices, which, however, does not prevent them at the same time from giving complete freedom to their offspring.

585 Last year at Namaltugan, two Christian Isneg intended to get
583 married; when the groom firmly refused to have anything to do with
177 native pagan customs, the relatives on both sides agreed to everything,
178 except on the question of the payment that had to be given to the parents of the bride: on this they strongly insisted; it had nothing to do with religion, and so it had to be observed.
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In short, Isneg religious and magical practices are still firmly adhered to by the generality of old men and women, while with the younger set they tend to be considered as mere superstitions, that are observed more through fear than through conviction, just as among the Christian Iloko, many remnants of the old native religion are still to be found scattered all over the country in the form of superstitious practices. There can be no doubt about the fact that in Apayaw the way is open for the Christian religion to supplant the old native one: the former is considered as a step forward by almost every Isneg, and practically nobody objects to the young people embracing it; in fact, most of the old people themselves insist on having their children baptized and even instructed in the doctrine of the Christians.

The duty of headhunting has perforce to fall into desuetude, as the vigilance of the authorities prevents it from being practised, at least on a large scale. With reference to isolated cases, which do not fail at times to appear sporadically, the guilty parties rarely escape due punishment, as the Isneg live too much in very small scattered communities to be able to hide them successfully. The older people still foster the desire of freedom in their hearts of course, but the younger generation will little by little forget all about it, and the usual ceremonies, although persevering in the form of superstitions, will very soon have lost their significance. Enough already has been said about this, and it is needless to repeat it all over again.

In the question of obedience and respect due to parents and elders, the Isneg usually conform with their teaching on the subject, and the same may be said with reference to loyalty either to friends or to people who are not at enmity with them. Downright disobedience is really very rare, even in the case of grown-up boys and girls, and respect for older people perseveres all through life. A few isolated cases may be encountered occasionally, but they are certainly the exception. Actually of course the same loyalty cannot always be observed as before, namely participation in headhunting expeditions and so on, and now and then a few members of the younger generation will even stand by the Government against malefactors of their own people; but in general it may be said that respect for the law has not yet attained such an ascendency as to cause an Isneg to be a traitor to his friends.

The practice of revenge has also necessarily suffered an important transformation. The duty of revenge remains intact though, and it

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vogue here now tends to retard marriage; but its introduction is still too recent and it is still too much the privilege of the few, to be able sensibly to affect the standard of morality among our Isneg.

As to conjugal fidelity, it may be said that an unfaithful wife is the exception among the Isneg; but with reference to the men, the situation is not so bright. Even polygyny is not always sufficient to put a curb to the husband's license: indeed only the rich can afford to take more than one wife, and these at the same time usually enjoy the greatest freedom on account of their wealth and social influence.

To sum up the situation, it may be said that open immorality and indecency is much less frequent among the Isneg than among several other Mountain tribes, but, although more or less well concealed, loose morals are rather the rule than the exception among young unmarried people, and among married people the state of affairs leaves much to be desired. "Doing that which may make a girl pregnant" is not what the Isneg abhors, but "making a girl actually pregnant".

With reference to honesty, the Isneg generally observes the rules laid down by his own code, and transgressions are rare. Isneg thieves are not at all common, and downright robbery, even from the Ibanag or the *idammán* (enemies of his own tribe), is a rare occurrence. This is true of children as well as of adults, although the former may occasionally try to pilfer fruits or other eatables, in which, nevertheless, they are never encouraged by their elders, who rarely fail to scold them and even to punish them.

Truthfulness also is quite ordinary among adult Isneg, but many youngsters need frequent correction on the subject. In this connection, however, we should bear in mind the existence of two inveterate habits not only among the Isneg, but also among the generality of Malays with whom I have come in contact. And first, whenever he is caught at something that might elicit from you even the smallest reprimand, he has always an excuse ready at the tip of his tongue, and any excuse will do, however preposterous it may be; he never reasons about it, the truth is not what he aims at, but the plain presentation of an excuse, be it real or imaginary. These people are certainly experts in that line.

Just to give a few examples. One day I was very much astonished to find that all my bananas had disappeared, although they were carefully stored away in a closed press, so I suspected, and not without reason, that one of my Isneg boys had found them to his taste. At the first occasion I bluntly asked the fellow what had happened to

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fast is over,—or, if none of the above-named tubers are to be had, which is by far the most usual case, as soon as all limbs have been duly stretched out,—everyone turns to his occupations: the women mostly repair to their fields, and the men either go fishing or attend to some other kind of work that devolves upon them; a good many times, however, they simply do nothing.

About ten or eleven o'clock a. m., the Isneg take their first substantial meal: this has been prepared by the women, who usually come back a little earlier than the men, in case the latter have been out, and it is generally taken in common, the whole family squatting around the plates that are set out on some particular spot on the floor, not too far from the hearth. After that the men act in the same way as in the morning, while women either go back to the field or attend to the pounding of rice, the feeding of the pigs and other chores.

In the evening the second principal meal is cooked, and it is partaken of very often by the light of the flickering flames of the hearth, but never at a very late hour, as the Isneg goes to sleep almost with the chickens. When I say "goes to sleep", I do not of course mean "sleeps", as a comparatively long interval of time generally separates the two actions: this gap is filled in by story-telling and so on, while the young men roam around to see their sweethearts or to court the girls. When there is moonlight, the youngsters usually pass the first part of the night in romping and playing.

In a few families the first substantial meal is cooked and eaten in the morning, before the inmates of the house leave for their respective occupations; and then, cooked yams or sweet potatoes are occasionally partaken of at or about noon. Others again, instead of eating their first meal at home, take along some cooked provisions (*kupíl*; never *bálon*, "provisions of uncooked food"), and eat them at the place of their work.

Such is the Isneg daily life under ordinary circumstances. At the time of the year devoted to the preparation of the fields (clearing the forest and burning the grasses), the men very often start early in the morning, after breakfast, and come back only in the evening, when they partake of their last meal. The women rarely fail to come back more or less early in the afternoon in order to attend to their ordinary household duties.

Whenever the men intend to leave the house very early, whether to go to the field, or to start on a journey that will last for several days, the women arise long before daybreak, at the first crowing of the

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and the knees. Consequently the *mańlakkát* wears neither *badiyó* (jacket) nor *baxákat* (girdle), and the *laddóń* or headband has been replaced by the *sarikaw*, so that her hair hangs loose down her back. All this is done, according to the Isneg, lest the bride experience difficulty in giving birth to her children; the loose attire of the *mańlakkát* is supposed to have a magical influence on the deliveries of the future mother, so that they be accomplished with the utmost ease.

In some places the *mańlakkát* carries the bride on her back, not on her hip, all the way from the latter's house to that of the groom. Nevertheless if the distance is too great, she only carries the girl down the ladder of the house, and then puts her down, not to take her up again until they arrive at the boy's house, where she carries her up the ladder. When mounting the ladder, the *mańlakkát* has to skip one of the rungs, all the while carrying her burden. In most places she contents herself with carrying the bride up the ladder of the groom's house, skipping one of the rungs as usual. According to the Isneg, the reason of this action is the same as that given for the looseness of the *mańlakkát*'s apparel. In Kankanay folklore one occasionally hears a husband invite his wife, who experiences difficulty in giving birth to her child, to climb his back. In other places, however, at least at present, the *mańlakkát* merely escorts the bride, without carrying her even for a single moment; but her attire always remains the same scanty outfit just referred to, and she never carries any of the baskets filled with sweets.

This custom of carrying the bride all the way through is very generally observed at Bayag (G branch of *O* dialect), while at Baliwanan and Dangla (Main branch of *O* dialect), and at Musimut (K branch of *O* dialect), she is merely carried up the ladder of the boy's house. The latter eventuality is remembered by the Isneg to have happened once at Alumani (near Kabugaw; Main branch). This does not obtain, at least in every case, at Kumaw and Bolo (Main branch), at Abbil and Dibagat (G branch), and at Talifugu (*Bô* dialect).

As soon as the procession arrives at the house of the groom, where in the meanwhile the latter's relatives and many other people invited as guests have been gathering, a few important ceremonies take place. If some members of the girl's party are living near the house of the boy, and in this case only, they *magtaluńáb*, which means that they stop before the ladder of the house and forbid the bride to enter until the boy's parents have given them a present, which usually consists of a *xúsi* jar or of a few beads. After that the bride is

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is not even allowed to do that, but she has to satisfy the calls of nature inside, using some receptacle given her for the purpose.

In some places the widower (*bálo*) does the same at the death of his wife, and lives in an *aróboń* for the time being: such is the custom at Dangla, at Bolo, etc. At Bayag, it would be considered indecorous for a widower to imitate the women in this respect: there only the latter are bound to take up their temporary residence in an *aróboń*.

If the widow (or widower, where the same custom is observed by both men and women alike) is unwilling to live in an *aróboń*, she merely wraps herself up in a blanket, passing it over her head. This is called *maxubčban*, and the woman remains in the usual place near the corpse until one night after burial. Sometimes it may happen that widows or widowers refuse to submit to this ordeal, but they will in all cases be severely berated by the other relatives of the deceased. It should, however, be noted that, if they had little regard for the dead person during his lifetime, this ceremony may be dispensed with, without anybody taking much notice of the whole affair.

If the deceased was held in high esteem by his people, the other relatives remain at the other side of the corpse from the *aróboń* for the whole period that elapses between the dressing of the body and its burial, but they are not confined in an *aróboń*, and they are free to leave whenever necessary.

At Abbil (municipal district of Namaltugan) a widower usually goes to the river accompanied by one of his male relatives, on the morning of the day that follows the death of his wife. Once there his companion bores a small hole in the ground very near the water, and as soon as the hole is filled with water, the widower dips the little finger of his right hand into it. From this time on until the *obóbāt* ceremony (end of the mourning period), he is not allowed to take a bath. This ceremony, however, which is called *mamáwa*, is only performed by brave men, as a spirit is supposed to pursue the widower after he has dipped his finger into the water.

2. *Burial*

The coffin (*lońón*) is almost always made of ordinary boards, roughly hewn by means of a headax. Its size depends on the length of the body to be buried, and the boards are flat and oblong, except the two small ones at both ends, which are square or almost so; there are at least five of them, and in case the coffin has a lid, six. If the body was kept in a sitting posture after death, the coffin is much

48: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
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764 shorter of course, but it is also much deeper. The case of the jar coffin in use at Bayag has already been mentioned. At Bayag also, where timber is becoming relatively scarce, the coffin may be made of bamboo, and in some cases, pebbles from the river take the place of a regular coffin. These pebbles are arranged in such a way as to cover the body on all sides inside the grave, each board of a regular wooden coffin being replaced by a certain quantity of more or less flat pebbles placed side by side, horizontally for the bottom and the lid, if the last is desired, and upright for the other four.

[764] In the morning before burial, or a little later in the day in case of small children who are buried the night after their death, the body is placed in the coffin, in the same place and position which it occupied until then. The *tádag* or bier is simply removed and placed upright somewhere against the wall or thrown under the house. If the body was kept in a sitting posture after death, the coffin is placed [766] upright and the body is kept sitting. Occasionally, however, such a body may be laid down on its back and coffined as if it had been lying stretched out in its full length: this is what happened to Anton of Lettuakan, whose case has been mentioned before. In no case is a lid placed over the coffin inside the house. Even after the body has been placed in the coffin, the women's lamentations and the men's *bisndg* suffer no interruption: everything goes on as usual until the [766 funeral takes place. At Bayag the body remains as it is until burial; 184] it is coffined only when interred, which is obviously a necessity in the case of a coffin of pebbles, as the latter are always arranged inside the grave.

764 The period of time that elapses between death and burial is not the 766 same everywhere and for everybody, neither has it always been the same. In the past, when the Isneg were still their own masters, the *innát* of an adult was never buried before the fifth day after death; sometimes it took even six days before the body was considered sufficiently decomposed to allow of its interment. Actually strangers who know nothing about Isneg law or are bent on disregarding it, keep strict vigilance, and the length of the period has been greatly reduced. Consequently even the Isneg have accepted as the usual number of nights that should elapse between death and burial (which formerly was always performed at night) of an adult, three (Abbil, etc.) or from three to four (Musimut, Bolo, etc.), the night of burial included. But even this reduced number of nights, already accepted by Isneg custom, is not tolerated by the authorities, and

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whenever possible the dead body of an adult is forcibly confined to the grave after one or two nights (night of burial always included). Occasionally in some out-of-the-way places, the Isneg may stick to their old custom or at least to the modified one, but this becomes rarer and rarer every day. Children are usually interred after one or two nights according to age and size (Abbil, Musimut, Bolo, etc.), so that in many cases a child who dies in the morning is buried in the evening of the same day.

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And now we come to the digging of the grave. The grave consists of a hole in the ground, large enough to contain the coffined body, but usually not as deep as is actually required by law (1½ meters). This is always begun by a woman (*maúusim*) who may be a shamaness or not. This operation, however, is rather ceremonial than practical, as immediately afterwards men do the real work. If jars have to be buried together with the coffined body, a special round hole is dug near the ordinary grave, in such a way as to have the buried jars situated at the right of the dead man's body, near the place of his head if the body is lying down. When digging a hole in the ground, the Isneg use the *sáwit* or blunt point at the back of a headax, or any other instrument, to loosen the earth, and an old basket or a coconut shell (in the case of digging a grave, usually the former), to extract the loose earth and throw it out. For the rest, no definite orientation of grave or body is required, and anybody is allowed to dig the grave, as well as to carry the body and to cover it with earth: there are no persons specifically designated for these purposes. In no case are children allowed to stay near a tomb in which a body has been buried recently (*lábūg*).

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Among the Kankanay, young men vie with each other to carry the body of a rich person to its last resting place, as they believe that, if the matter which exudes from the decomposed body (*deń* in Kankanay, pronounced like English "dung") trickles upon their own, they also will be blessed by this world's goods. No such belief exists among the Isneg.

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Formerly the grave was always dug under the house, and if the gravediggers happened to open a *lúbo-*, a grave already occupied, the lately deceased person was simply interred over the remains of the one in possession. This particular selection of the site for a grave gave rise, as was told me by the natives themselves, to the custom of the Isneg, which obtains to this day, of definitively stopping their work at a new house, and of going to choose some other place for the erec-

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764 If buried under the house, a number of flat pebbles from the river are arranged all around the grave in such a way as to form the figure of a rectangle; the pebbles are stuck in the ground half-way and are placed erect, but lengthwise, so that the part that protrudes is about one half of the breadth of the pebble, not one half of its greatest length.

764 If the body is buried in a common graveyard, a small shed is erected over the tomb. This shed consists of four low posts, which support a sheet of bamboo roofing, more or less slanting to one side. Some- 349 times, although rarely, the shed is much more elaborate, and, besides four or six posts, there are present two or four tiebeams that connect the posts, and a regular gable roof covered with grass or bamboo; the walls and gables are open to all winds, however, and there is a floor. Once erected, these contrivances are usually left untouched until they fall in and their materials decay. In all probability, this counterpart of a hut is intended to replace the house that in former times always shielded a tomb from the inclemencies of the weather.

766 In Bayag, upon the grave of *Butit*, under a shed of the most elab- 184 orate type just described, the survivors had placed immediately over the place of the body, and seemingly covering it from head to foot, a contrivance of sticks and laths, which was an almost exact replica of the coffin-shaped device used in Catholic churches at services at which the body is absent. All around this wooden frame, several jars could be found, scattered at random, some of which were standing erect, at the time of my visit, others lying down, a few entire, others partially deteriorated. This is most certainly quite exceptional in Apayaw, as I never saw anything similar in any other graveyard.

3. After Burial till End of Mourning

765 When the funeral is over, the participants retire to a place a little distant from the house of the deceased, and from there the male relatives pelt the house with stones (*bumaláw*). This is done in order to drive away the spirits (*Bowá, Wirwér*, etc.) who might be lying in wait at the grave to rob it of its prey. This rite is not dispensed with even though the person be interred in a common graveyard and far away from the house, although in this case it seems to have lost all meaning; but the Isneg stick to their traditions. I confidently expect, however, that very soon they will find another reason for their action, and the throwing of stones will be explained as intended to drive away from the house either all spirits in general,

yaos after the principal river in their country. Some say the word Apayao was originated in their fierce battle cry *"Ma-ap-ay-ao."* During this call the hand is clapped rapidly over the mouth so that the cry sounds much like the American Indian war-whoop. This cry is also used at a feast: when a new visitor comes, when the basi is brought in, and when a pig is killed.

I will endeavor to describe, from personal observation of its still numerous cultural remains, something of the life of the Apayaos as it no doubt existed little changed during the long centuries during which their folktales were formed.

The life of these people has much to do with the streams of the country along which most of them live. They do not live on the river flats, but on the mountain sides for safety. Many of their communities are named after the streams near which they are located. A considerable part of the food is obtained from the streams; and they are used for washing, bathing and swimming, as well as for scenery. Much of the transportation is on the streams, and the men are expert boatma nand raftsmen. During the heavy rainy season transportation on swollen rivers is perilous; but it is carried on somewhat. The result is that many a banca has over-turned in the roaring rapids; much valuable merchandidse still lies in the deep pools at the feet of those rapids; and many of family mourns the loss of a loved one. Therefore stories of the streams often occur in the legends of the people.

The people on each stream were isolated from each other for many centuries so that there has come to be quite a difference in their customs and dialects.